NATIONAL REVIEW

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May 9, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Socialism by Treaty

WILLIAM L. McGRATH

Freedom from Fluoridation

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

Germany Revisited

F. A. VOIGT

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . L. BRENT BOZELL

WILLMOORE KENDALL · ROBERT PHELPS · RICHARD M. WEAVER

DONALD DAVIDSON · SAM M. JONES · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Better Late...

Senator George, who not long ago was beating the drum for the Eisenhower foreign relations program, has had time to reconsider (and hear from the folks back home). As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, he now proposes a comprehensive, nonpartisan, non-governmental analysis and appraisal of foreign aid. Such a study has not been made since 1947 when an appraisal was introduced as a preface to the Marshall Plan. With a $4.9 billion measure now awaiting congressional action, Senator George's proposal has bipartisan support even though it comes too late to be of value to this year's giveaway program.

Stevenson Still Leads

Adlai Stevenson still has the strongest following among important Democratic leaders. The rise of Symington's stock as a compromise Presidential candidate and the emergence of Lyndon Johnson as a favorite-son aspirant, have not seriously impaired Stevenson's chances. He is still the choice of the pros who count most, but they will turn quickly to other candidates if Stevenson fails to win in Florida and California.

The Texas Poll

Senator Lyndon Johnson is leading both President Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson in the Texas Poll, which blankets the Lone Star State. In the most recent April sampling, Johnson received 48 per cent; Ike, 45; with 7 per cent undecided. Eisenhower was preferred over Stevenson by 54 to 41 per cent, with 5 per cent undecided. Considering his status as an "outlander," Kefauver made a remarkable showing, with 45 per cent against Eisenhower's 44, and 11 per cent undecided.

Dark Dilemma

For twenty years the Negro vote, especially in the politically critical Northern cities, has been heavily Democratic. This year many colored citizens may return to the party of Lincoln. The Democratic Convention will face the difficult problem of choosing a candidate who will alienate neither Southern whites nor Northern Negroes. If that is impossible, the strategists who believe that the South will "stand hitched" regardless of the candidate, may throw their support to Averell Harriman who ranks high with Negro voters.

Leader for V.P.?

Pennsylvania's George M. Leader, who moved from political obscurity to the Governor's office in less than a year, is being boomed as a running-mate for Stuart Symington, if the Missouri Senator gets the nomination. Some of Leader's friends insist, however, that he is fully qualified for first place on the ticket.

Lily-Whites Lead for GOP Convention

Somewhat incongruously, the Republican National Committee—and the White House politicos—seem to be backing the "Lily White" faction of the Mississippi GOP, headed by former Democrat E. O. Spencer of Jackson. If the Spencer group gets the green light at the Convention it will be the first time since the Hoover Administration that the Credentials Committee has recognized a white delegation from Mississippi. The "black and tan" faction, headed for a generation by Perry Howard, is conceded to be at a disadvantage, and the prospects of Howard's retention as National Committeeman are also considered dim.

Northern Discrimination

Editor-in-Chief Grover C. Hall, Jr., of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, is waging a hot war on what he terms the hypocrisy of Northern Liberals on the segregation question. Editorials and news stories from the Advertiser, widely reprinted throughout the South, reveal "a faithful, uninspiring picture of American race disharmony from New York to Los Angeles." Contending that discrimination is an American problem rather than a Southern condition, Mr. Hall takes the Liberal press to task. "Only once in 125 years," he said, "has the New York Times published a picture of a Negro bride on its society page, although a million Negroes live in the city." Hall accuses the Liberals of attacking Southern segregation while ignoring such cities as Dearborn, Royal Oak and Wyandotte, Michigan, where no Negroes are permitted to live.

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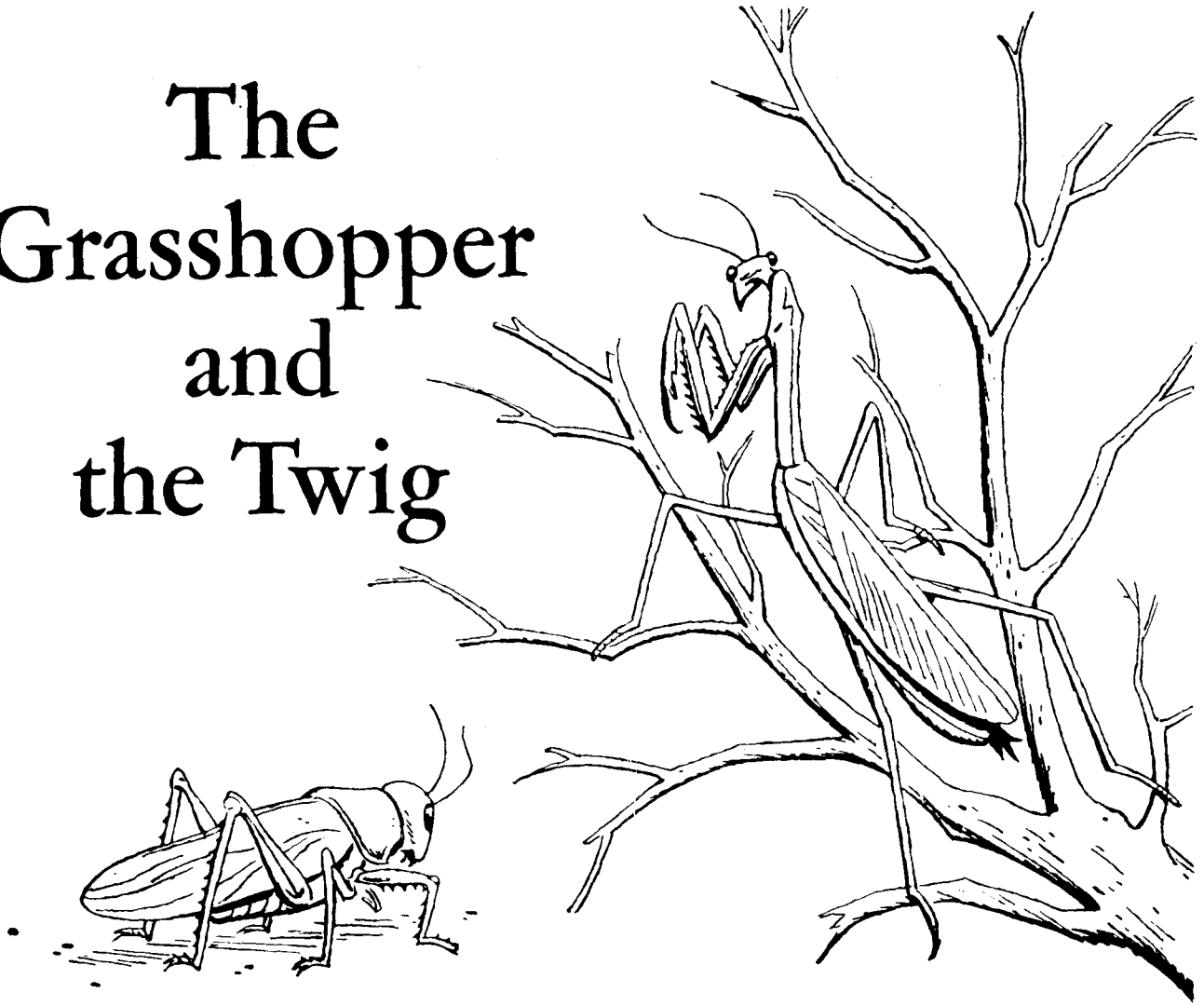
The Grasshopper and the Twig



TO the bulging eyes of the grasshopper it was just a spray of green young twigs, full of sap and spring.

The next instant one of the twigs lunged forward. The 'hopper was clamped in a pair of vise-like arms. The Praying Mantis, twig-shaped hunter of the insect world, began to dine.

Natural camouflage is not restricted to insects. Human "twigs", too, disguise their deadliness. Communists look and act and talk just like other people.

If we as individuals cannot penetrate the Communists' disguise, how can we possibly combat them?

The answer is so simple it is widely ignored. We can keep them out of positions of trust, where they can really harm us—simply by being *in* those positions of trust ourselves.

It means that many more of us must make the same kind of extra effort the Communists willingly make. It means ordinary citizens getting into active politics, joining civic organizations, doing the jobs the Communists would *like* to do.

It means work, no two ways about it. But if true Americans don't do it, Communists gladly will.

And it's work by which we could provide a powerful defense against our perfectly-disguised enemies, the Communists.

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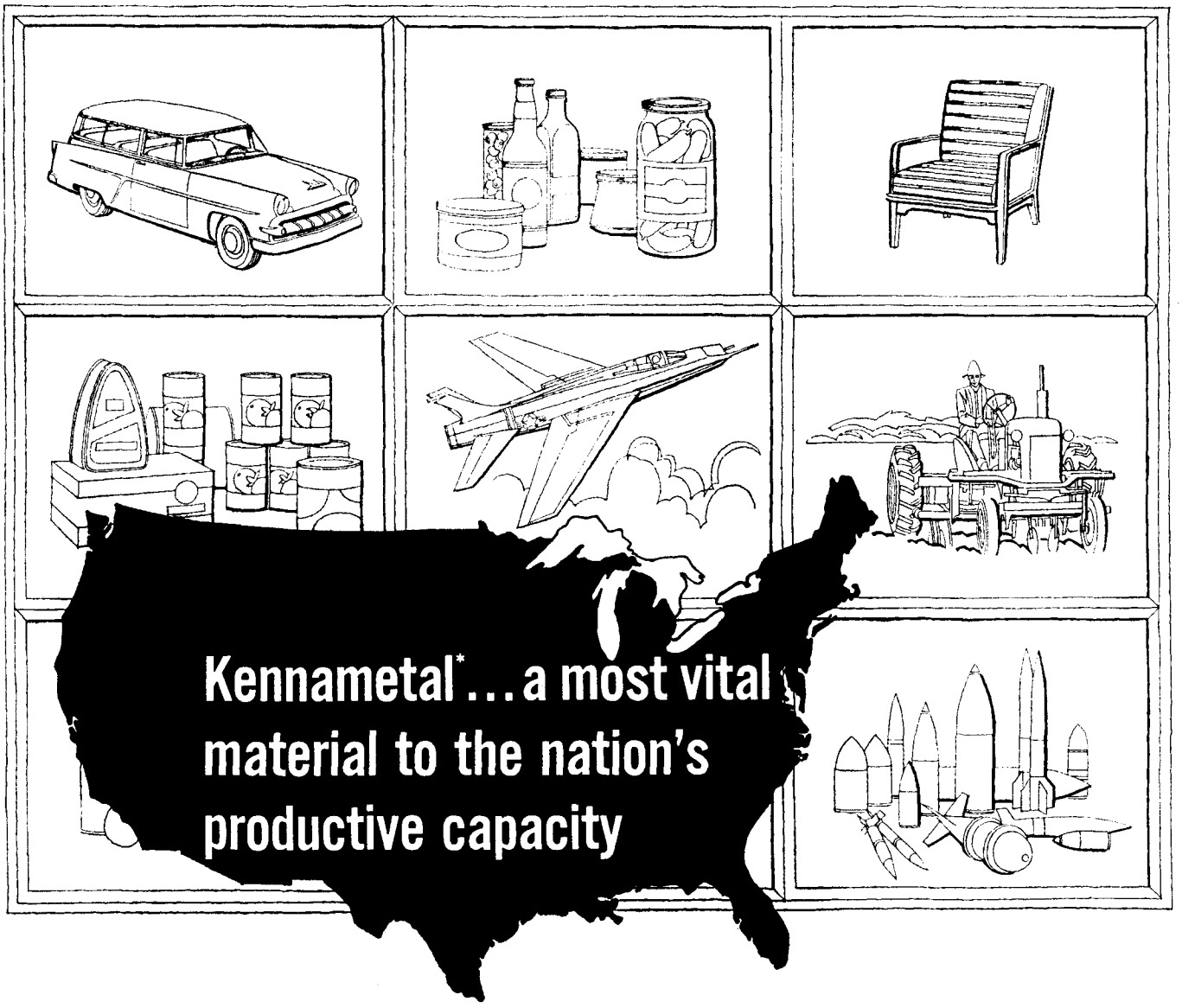

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The WEEK

Like Dante's Inferno, the argument over Eisenhower's foreign policy proceeds at a number of levels. There is the Republican claim 1) that foreign policy under Eisenhower took a drastic turn for the better, countered by the Democratic assertion 2) that it took a turn all right, we've almost lost the Cold War; to which the Republicans say, 3) to the extent that there are difficulties, they were caused by the long tenure of the Democratic Party; all of which claims have been adjudicated by Walter Lippmann who says, 4) "Stevenson found himself saying that the successful foreign policy of Truman had been followed by the unsuccessful policy of Eisenhower—as if in all essential respects the Eisenhower policy has not been the Truman policy." Back to Dante.

The Senate has taken a preliminary step against the phony Communist representation in the International Labour Organization (see Mr. William McGrath's article on p. 11). The Administration had recommended that Congress raise the ceiling on the U.S. contribution to the ILO by almost one hundred per cent. But on Senator Bricker's initiative the Senate resolved (43 to 40): no increased support whenever the ILO, during the previous calendar year, has permitted the Soviet Union to pass off its agents as bona fide representatives of either management or labor.

The government is reported ready to adopt a report just submitted by a Presidential Committee headed by Dr. Detlev W. Bronk of the National Academy of Sciences. The Committee recommends that no consideration be given to "political, moral, ideological loyalty" in making government grants to scientists. The original White House letter asking Dr. Bronk to set up the Committee stated: "no one will question the fundamental principle that only those who are loyal to our government should be the beneficiaries of government grants-in-aid." But the scientists do question that principle, explicitly; or else they are not yet aware that certain ideological loyalties presuppose correlative ideological *dis*loyalties.

Pravda reports that the group of Englishmen who extended the Fascist salute to Khrushchev and Bulganin outside Claridge's were "Fascist thugs." INS reports that they were "most probably" followers of British Fascist Sir Oswald Mosely. We lean to the theory that

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the gesture was an improvisation, and an altogether appropriate one, of random freemen at a loss for means of expressing their contempt. The simpler expedient of yelling "Communists!" would, after all, have been supererogatory under the circumstances; and anyway, the question is these days before the house whether that is an epithet. What neither *Pravda* nor INS has revealed is what were the political affiliations of the group of women who, three nights later, greeted Khrushchev with a chorus of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow"? (Bulganin joined in the singing.) Perhaps, for an encore, Khrushchev's admirers will oblige him with a verse or two of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Moscow's new "collective leadership" has its own notion of "the mellowing of the dictatorship" that has so impressed George Kennan. In recent weeks they have thrown out the Premier of Bulgaria and six members of the Polish Government. News has leaked out that at Tiflis (in Soviet Georgia) the MVD killed more than a hundred demonstrators. You got liquidated yesterday for one word against Stalin; and today, for one in his favor. The order is also out about the new spirit of friendship toward the imperialist world: Be mellow or be shot.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has already established that the Russian seamen who two weeks before had dramatically "redefected" to the Soviet Union were subjected to inhuman pressures by professional Communist terrorists in New York. The seamen were visited in the small boarding house where they lived at three o'clock in the morning by several Soviet agents. At seven, surrounded by the agents, the seamen headed for Idlewild Airport, Helsinki, home and, presumably, torture and death. The passive complicity of American Immigration officials during this kidnapping is a matter of national shame. The State Department's abrupt demand for the ouster of two minor Soviet diplomats will not reduce that shame. And the visibly coerced assertion of the five seamen, from behind the Red security curtain, that they have gone voluntarily to their torturers will only increase the ghastliness of the scandal.

Mr. Harold MacMillan has announced that in behalf of counterinflation, England is prepared to gamble on the gambling instincts of her citizens. The British Government will issue bonds which yield absolutely *no* interest but which automatically enter the bearer in a national lottery which most probably won't, but just possibly will, reward him a thousand-fold. It is the considered opinion of the Exchequer that there is still one area where the English prefer adventure to security, and that is the best evidence we have had in a long time that there'll always be an England.

A faithful reader of the *Daily Worker*, filled with reverent awe by Soviet Russia's self-effacement, writes that "the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union" has in fact succeeded in "self-critically wiping away the wisps of fog that had retarded our view of the tremendous achievements of the USSR." He that shall humble himself shall be exalted, as Marx said.

The Icardi Decision

Here, as we see it, are the issues involved in the decision last week of Federal Judge Richmond Keech in the case of Aldo Icardi.

Mr. Aldo Icardi was accused by several persons of having murdered an American major in Italy in the last months of the war. There were persons aplenty, here and in Italy, prepared to testify to the effect that he had had the motive and the opportunity, and to adduce circumstantial data of a probative kind.

But the question arose as to what tribunal had the power to haul him up and try him for murder. Not the army, because Icardi was out of the army, and the army had no further jurisdiction. Nor did any American court, for the alleged crime took place in Italy. An Italian court issued a warrant for his arrest, but Icardi announced that he had no intention of putting himself at the mercy of an Italian court.

Last week in Washington, Icardi's attorney, Edward Bennett Williams, persuaded Judge Keech (before whom Icardi was being tried for perjury allegedly committed before a congressional committee) that to resolve the dilemma, a congressional investigating subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee had illegally stepped into the breach and, in effect, acted as a court of judgment. Invoking its wide powers to investigate matters which might point up the need for legislation, or yield information on the operation of a branch of the Executive, the committee had, said Williams, plotted to expose Icardi to a perjury rap.

On the specific question of whether the committee had more or less laid for Icardi, we are fairly well convinced that it did; and, of course, we support the Court's stern reminder that it is not the function of the legislative investigating committee to act as a Grand Jury. A congressional committee is allowed to compel testimony. That power is valueless if there is no sanction against false testimony. But prosecution of perjurers cannot evolve as the central purpose of the activities of the committee. Thus far, as we say, Judge Keech was on solid ground.

But those who tirelessly seek out every opportunity to trim the powers of Congress greeted the decision with incontinent jubilation, seeing in it, as did, for example, Mr. Max Lerner (in whose judgment congressional investigating committees have ceased to be socially useful since they turned from investigat-

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ing business to investigating Communism), the death knell of congressional investigating procedure as currently practiced.

Judge Keech is partly responsible for giving critics of congressional committees that impression. For he generalized on the function of congressional committees and on what constitutes "material matter" in language so oversimplified as to invite abuse by balky witnesses and professional critics of Congress. ("There are . . . limitations upon the investigative power of the Legislature which must be considered in any determination of materiality. The investigation must be to aid in legislation.") And he preempted for the Courts not only the power to determine what is legitimate inquiry and what is relevant questioning, but the right to determine whether the intentions of congressional investigators are legal. ("When a committee of Congress is engaged in a legitimate legislative inquiry and the questions propounded are relevant and material to that inquiry, the courts will not question the motives of the questioners.")

In sum, Judge Keech neglected to acknowledge the legal right of Congress to seek out whatever information it deems relevant to the performance of its constitutional functions. The informing power of Congress is among those that have been recognized by tradition. It was considered by Woodrow Wilson to be even more important, in effect, than the legislative function. It is one thing to protect the constitutional rights of Mr. Icardi, another to strip Congress of crucial rights. If Judge Keech does not know how to do the one without the other, someone will have to show him how.

Comrades Abroad

The visit of Khrushchev and Bulganin to England is transparently a venture in experimental psychology; can the Western world be acclimated by the technique of injecting slightly larger quantities of toxin over a considerable period, to normal social intercourse with slavemasters?

There is no other reason for the trip. Discussions about disarmament, or about hydrogen bomb tests, or about strife in the Middle East could far more easily have taken place in neutral, and concededly amoral chancelleries, such as the United Nations. In any case, they need not, to maximize the chances of success, have been held in Chequers, or Windsor Castle. Nor can any serious person suggest that social contact will soften obdurate hearts. The hand that clasped the hand of Elizabeth (or did they kiss her hand? As they might have done that of her great-aunt, the Czarina Alexandra?) had shaken the hand of Stalin more vigorously, and the hand of Roosevelt just as ingratiatingly.

The leaders of East and West have not met to settle affairs of state, but to test the temper of the people. If the people can be calloused to the physical presence of the leaders of Communism, does it not follow that they can be calloused to Communism itself? And if so, could the leaders of the West (assuming they were disposed to do so) ever succeed in mobilizing the people to heroic efforts to resist Communism? This, we suggest, is what Khrushchev and Bulganin will talk about, on their return, at their first meeting with the Politburo. No one will think to ask, it is our guess, what was decided about arms to Egypt, or anything else so relatively trivial.

Doubletalk

The President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, headed by General of the Army Omar Bradley, has worked out a "national philosophy of veterans' benefits" to take the place of the multiple and overlapping programs which have been enacted "in response to minority pressures."

The Commission estimated that if the present rate of conscription continues, there will be 26 million living ex-servicemen at the end of the century. "Military service in itself . . . cannot," said the report flatly, "continue to serve as a basis for special privilege."

So far, so good. One's immediate inclination is to applaud the Commission for returning a non-political report on a very touchy political matter. But see how

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well entrenched are the axioms of the welfare state! The Commission did not go on to argue that the government should feel no more responsibility for a (non-disabled) veteran than for a non-veteran. It argued, in effect, that the government has a responsibility toward *all* its citizens to provide "a reserve line of defense against economic need" (the imagery is presumably General Bradley's); and that veterans being citizens, they will be covered anyway, so there is no need for special veterans' programs. The Commission has said, in effect: continue to support veterans at the current rate, but do not call them veterans.

Either 1), or 2), or 3)

It has long since been made clear that failure to agree with the *New York Times* is at least prima facie evidence of 1) ignorance or 2) villainy. A third explanation is now advanced, to cover those not disposed of by 1) or 2). It is, 3), intimidation.

Mr. Irving Dillard, editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* reported to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at their convention that 112 out of 193 papers in the nation's hundred largest cities did *not* comment on the *Times'* charge last winter that Senator Eastland was bent on intimidating the press. "Did Senator Eastland's boldness in concentrating on the *New York Times* so impress the press that many editors found it desirable to avoid commenting?" asked Mr. Dillard darkly.

The *Times* attack on the Eastland Committee certainly deserved the attention of the nation's press. For it should have been singled out for its irresponsibility, exposed as a disingenuous piece of showmanship. The failure to *criticize* the *Times'* action is the measure of the dereliction of our press. Mr. Dillard is not even aware that, whereas one can criticize a congressional committee with impunity these days, it is not so easy to criticize the *Times.*

Sheer Weight of Evidence

Eighteen years ago, several hundred prominent American writers, artists and educators signed a statement that the Soviet purge trials "have by sheer weight of evidence established a clear presumption of the guilt of the defendants."

The current regime in Russia has just heaved out that evidence and posthumously vindicated many of the purge victims. Others will be de-purged (but unfortunately not resurrected) in the weeks ahead as the Communist police blotter on Stalin is filled in.

But many of the "enlightened" American signers of that 1938 vote of confidence in Soviet justice still are with us—prominent and honored among educators and intellectuals. And the "Fascists," who in 1938 were "bent on strangling the rights of the people," apparently have been unable in eighteen years (which included two wars and Joe McCarthy) to silence even such Communist sympathizers as these.

It is only too likely that if, today, these same "liberals" were asked to sign a statement classifying the Soviet repudiation of the purge trials as (to use the words of the 1938 declaration) "an effort of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers [which are the] chief menace to peace and democracy," many would hasten to do so.

Would Professor Harry Schlochower, whom the Supreme Court has just ordered reinstated at Brooklyn College, sign? Would Corliss Lamont, Dorothy Parker or Dashiell Hammett? How about Haakon Chevalier, who once urged J. Robert Oppenheimer to turn over atomic secrets to the Soviets? Or Chaoting Chi, whom Owen Lattimore did *not* know to be a Communist? Or Lionel Stander, actor, Irwin Shaw, novelist, Lillian Hellman, playwright, or Marc Blitzstein, composer?

The Intrepid Mr. Rauh

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. was so disconcerted when he was asked a particular question on *Face the Nation* (CBS) that he quite literally fell to pieces. The question had to do with our old friend Paul Hughes. "I understand," said interrogator John Madigan of *Newsweek,* "that some people objected to the part that you played in the trial of Paul Hughes in New York . . . It cost you $10,000, did it, Mr. Rauh?" We quote the full text of Mr. Rauh's answer:

> No, it cost me some money, as I said at the time. I thought that we were going to show some certain illegalities by Senator McCarthy. I've heard no objection to it. I felt most of the people felt as I feel that it's your duty as an American citizen when a man comes to with [*sic*] you with proof of illegal activity to do your best to get the story, particularly when it was a man who had tried to dissolve the Bill of Rights. I am proud of the way the ADA was the first spokesman against McCarthy. We sometimes have to take tough positions. We sometimes have to be the first one out in the open. That's why I say even here on the same issues that we have to speak on now. I think it's our obligation now to make clear to the American people that President Eisenhower is running sort of a part-time presidency for a full-time crisis. We get the tough problems. We take them on, whether it's Senator McCarthy or wherever they are.

There is one thing Mr. Rauh will *not* take on lightly, we are willing to bet, and that is juries. The last one he took on didn't believe him.

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

The Propaganda Machine Plays Possum

The scale and intensity of the Liberal propaganda machine's efforts to undermine the sanity of the American people vary considerably from time to time. Sometimes, as we have noted in the past, the machine "spins its wheels" with respect to important areas of American life—that is, postpones the adoption of propaganda themes in those areas pending imminent but hard-to-predict developments in domestic or international affairs. Sometimes, as we are about to notice for the first time, it "plays possum."

Playing possum consists in confining itself to certain basic long-term missions so familiar to the target audience as to proceed virtually unnoticed. (Among these is levelling at home and abroad via lavish foreign aid; tub-thumping for the UN; and plugging the wisdom and foresight of the bureaucracy against the stupidity and incompetence of Congress.) When the Liberals play possum, they rely more heavily than usual upon their capacity to pass off propaganda as news.

The technique is to de-emphasize the doctrinal aspect of its commentaries and editorials; to make the most of its control of the news columns; and to present the appearance, from day to day, of that which the machine always pretends to be, namely: an organization of genuine professional men, all complete with a professional ethic, dedicated to the gathering and dissemination of authoritative and untendentious news stories, analyses and comment.

Make no mistake about it: the machine, these days, *is* playing possum. Its propaganda themes are few in number; are well-known to the target audience; have to be spotted, for the most part, in articles and broadcasts that seem, at first blush, to be pure reportage; and reflect a mood, unprecedented in the machine's history over the past twenty years, of extreme caution as to how far it can go in attempting to undermine the basic values and convictions of its readers and listeners. And make no mistake about this either: the machine's strategic decision to play possum at this time is itself a development of the first importance. For by taking such a decision, it telegraphs to us its belief that the moment is *not* appropriate for pressing forward with the Liberal revolution. And that, in this columnist's view, can mean only two things: *that* (for the moment, anyhow) *the intellectual climate has shifted sharply against the Liberals, and that the Liberals know it.*

All this has been especially evident, of late, in connection with the Liberals' offensive against the nation's internal security program. They haven't, of course, given up on this; still less have they made up their minds to join the rest of us in doing all that is necessary in order to make the program effective. But they are keeping conspicuously quiet about their opposition to it—*i.e.*, playing possum. As witness these facts:

1. The offensive is now being spearheaded not by Liberal editorialists and commentators, but by a corps of Liberal lawyers, whose general staff activities are conducted, unobtrusively, by law professors at a distinguished Ivy League university.

2. The offensive proceeds by *indirection*: it does not openly challenge the idea of a loyalty-security program, or the principles upon which such a program rests; rather it seeks its victories on the level of jurisdiction and procedure (getting the states out of the internal security field; making the world of law safe for Fifth Amendment Communists; restricting the use, in loyalty-security proceedings, of information provided by so-called secret informers).

3. The Liberal propaganda machine confines itself, as the lawyers chalk up their victories, to quiet applause for the alleged "trend" back to "traditional principles" of Anglo-Saxon law, and to preserving a discreet silence about the resultant progressive weakening of the loyalty-security program.

4. The lawyers' attack is being supported (on, so to speak, the other flank) by the scientists, especially the atomic scientists; and they also, far from attacking the idea of a loyalty-security program for the non-scientists (*i.e.*, mere mortals) limit themselves to such themes as the following: Science can flourish only in a context of free exchange of information; American science will lag progressively behind Soviet science unless the free flow of information, suspended because of the security program, is restored; the security restrictions on scientific information *must* accordingly be relaxed, on pain of our losing our advantage in atomic weapons; and, in any case, the scientists are weary of the nonsense, the red tape, the delays, and the injustices accompanying the loyalty-security program; unless something is done about these soon, they will simply refuse to perform government research.

5. And, with the scientists as with the lawyers, the machine limits itself now to "reporting": it prints and reprints, ad nauseam, critical statements about the loyalty-security program from "distinguished" men of science here, there, and everywhere; it seizes upon, and plays hard, every "case" in which a government research program has allegedly been slowed down or hampered by the removal or suspension of scientific personnel; it gives ever-wider currency to the axiom that "good" scientific research work does not cease to be "good" scientific research work because it has been performed by a man with Communist leanings, and never gets around to noticing that no supporter of stiff loyalty-security programs for scientists ever denied or questioned that axiom; it overlooks the fact that what we know about any loyalty-security proceeding involving a scientist (or anyone else for that matter) comes almost invariably either from the scientist in question or his lawyer; above all, it makes the scientists sound *very* intelligent, *very* hard to replace, and *very* nice, and the government's security officials sound *very* stupid, *very* numerous, and *very* churlish. Which, of course, is how it wishes its readers to think of them.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The Fair Deal's Three Wise Men—Stevenson, Acheson, Kennan—indict Republican foreign policy. And their attack discloses the slant of the forthcoming campaign.

Adlai Stevenson's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors is, for a number of reasons, a valuable piece of political intelligence. For one thing, it indicates that Stevenson is very hard up indeed for a headline. The proposal is reminiscent of Harold Stassen's frantic attempt to get attention in the 1952 campaign by demanding a return to the gold standard.

For another, Stevenson's speech—in its more serious aspects—helped dramatize a long-term trend in U.S. foreign-policy thinking. Back in 1948, a major plank in Henry Wallace's platform (as well as a major Communist propaganda theme) demanded that U. S. economic aid be channelled through the United Nations. At that time, the Truman policy of retaining U.S. control over Marshall Plan outlays was one of the issues that separated "regular" Democrats from left-wing Democrats. Now, in 1956, the titular leader of the Democratic Party tells the American Society of Newspaper Editors that "we should seriously consider basic revision of our method of giving aid; specifically, we should . . . make greater use of the United Nations as the economic aid agency."

Note, too, that Stevenson's *reason* for distributing U.S. aid through the UN is the same as Wallace's. Wallace argued—and, unlike his Communist mentors, he probably did so uncynically—that it was wrong to use economic aid as a *political* weapon. Just so, Mr. Stevenson: "We should try to remove economic development from the arena of the 'cold war.' We believe, to be sure, that anything that strengthens economic growth, national independence, human welfare and democratic processes will improve a nation's resistance to the virus of Communism. *But our first purpose is human betterment and anything less* [*i. e.*, encouraging anti-Communism] *is a by-product.*"

The most valuable contribution of the Stevenson speech was that it confirmed suspicions about the results of the Democratic Party's search for foreign policy "issues." The election campaign promises to see Democrats bearing down hard on the following three themes, none of which was missed by Mr. Stevenson: 1) we need "ideas" in the foreign policy area; 2) we need more emphasis on the military establishment; 3) we need less emphasis on the military establishment.

The "ideas" theme continues close to the Liberals' heart, all the more since they have few real quarrels with what is going on. In the present campaign, the theme was kicked off in Dean Acheson's book, *A Democrat Looks at His Party*. Acheson recalled that *he* had superintended "an Administration which overflowed with ideas." But when the Democrats left office, "the stream of ideas, of imaginative thinking . . . dried up." The argument is now a regular feature of Democratic speeches—as witness, for example, the denunciation of the Eisenhower Administration's "intellectual sterility" by that old egghead, Alben Barkley. And more of the same by Stevenson: "We desperately need today a rebirth of ideas in the conduct of our foreign affairs . . . Compare that extraordinary outburst of creativity [the Truman foreign policy] with the sterility of the past three years . . ."

The claim that U.S. military power is falling behind that of the Soviets started out as the special property of the party's Senate wing, concretely of Senators Symington, Russell and Jackson; but since this is an argument that will predictably strike a responsive chord in the electorate, it has earned a steady role in Democratic campaign oratory. Thus, Mr. Stevenson found time in his ASNE speech for several paragraphs berating the Administration for "presiding over the reduction in our armed strength."

Theme No. 3—the companion charge that "we over-militarize our international thought" (to quote Mr. Stevenson again)—is also here for the duration—and because most Democratic intellectuals really feel this way. Sir Oracle himself indicated approval of Stevenson's charge the very day of the ASNE speech. Said George Kennan: we suffer from "an over-militarization of our thinking about the cold war."

Stevenson, to be sure, developed the military de-emphasis theme principally by urging greater emphasis on economic aid and ideological persuasion. But no one should infer from this that, on Stevenson's showing, themes 2 and 3 are reconciliable. The underlying question is whether the U.S. is giving too little or too much attention to the military threat posed by the Soviet Union, and Stevenson took great pains to get himself firmly entrenched on both sides of the question. After clobbering the Administration for having "lost" a "clear margin of military superiority in the field of air-atomic power," Stevenson asserted, without blinking an eye: "As a layman, I question the sense in multiplying and enlarging weapons of a destructive power already almost incomprehensible."

A Note from Mr. Burnham

Mr. Bozell wrote last week, in discussing the Bricker Amendment and my article thereon: "The basic constitutional dispute . . . is over the question: 'Does the Constitution, *as it now stands,* permit the federal government to do things via the treaty route that it is forbidden to do through ordinary legislation?' " If this is indeed the question, I do not see how it is in dispute by anyone. Of course the Constitution so permits: at the very least, to make contracts (treaties) with foreign governments, which are excluded from the province of "ordinary legislation."

The real question is, rather: Can the federal government, through use of the treaty power, subvert constitutional principles which (apart from the treaty power itself) would be accepted as prevailing? On the answer to this question there is no general

(*Continued on p. 22*)

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Socialism by Treaty

The ILO is overrun with Communists and Socialists, who seek to influence the internal policy of member states through international treaties. Congress must decide whether the time has come to withdraw

WILLIAM L. McGRATH

On January 28 the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a resolution calling for executive and congressional investigation of the present structure and activities of the International Labour Organization, with a view to deciding whether or not the U.S. Government should continue its membership in the Organization. Pending the results the Chamber would, said the resolution, at the request of representatives of the U.S. Government again participate in the nomination of employer delegations to the ILO for the year 1956.

On February 9 the National Association of Manufacturers adopted a similar resolution. Both resolutions cited the Organization's attempted interference in the internal affairs of member nations; both referred to the undermining effect of Socialist and Communist activity on its structure and purpose.

Back of these resolutions is the history of a losing fight against collectivist domination of the Organization.

Origin of the ILO

The ILO is the oldest of the UN specialized agencies. It was organized in 1919 as an affiliate of the League of Nations. The idea that inspired it was that if representatives of employees, employers and government could be brought together to discuss problems effecting labor, agreements might be reached which would be of benefit to workers all over the world. In accordance with this purpose, the Organization for more than a decade concerned itself with such matters as the living quarters of seamen in the international marine services, the employment of women in mines, child labor, industrial safety, workmen's compensation, and the basic right of collective bargaining.

From the beginning, however, the ILO sought to achieve its objectives by drafting proposed international laws which, when ratified by member nations, would have the force of treaties. The U.S. was reluctant to participate in such covenants. It did not join the ILO until 1934, and then only with the reservation that it would regard ILO proposals not as draft treaties but as mere recommendations.

Trend to Socialism

The international trend to state socialism which swept the world in the thirties progressively influenced the ILO until, in its "Philadelphia Declaration" of 1945, it expressly arrogated to itself the right to draft basic laws on social and economic questions for submission to member governments. That is to say, with the Philadelphia Declaration it moved out of the field of labor and into that of government policy.

Ironically enough, in that same year the U.S. Congress not only approved the Philadelphia Declaration but joined the ILO without reservation. Thereafter, if the U.S. ratified an ILO convention, it was bound to give it the force of an international treaty.

The following year the ILO affiliated with the United Nations. It is not under UN direction, however, but proceeds independently, with the direct financial support of its member governments. Twenty-five per cent of this support comes from the United States.

From 1945 on, the labor-government coalition which dominated the ILO concerned itself chiefly with the drafting of proposed international laws which constituted attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of member governments, and even to change the structure of member states. For example, in 1950 it proposed "a resolution concerning action against unemployment" which amounted to a proposal that government, on the pretext of reducing unemployment, should dominate every phase of a country's economy. Indeed, ILO thinking and planning is based on the assumption that world-wide nationalization of industry is inevitable. The unemployment convention contains this sweeping injunction:

> In seeking to achieve or maintain, by domestic measures, economic and social conditions, and especially a level of aggregate demand conducive to the maintenance of full employment, governments should pay particular attention to:
>
> a) the importance of achieving at the same time such basic social objectives of continuous economic growth, steady advance in standards of living and social progress, the promotion of which requires in particular efficient and flexible production, freedom of workers to organize, to bargain collectively and to change jobs, an equitable distribution of incomes, and a balance of investment, consumption and leisure adapted to the requirements of the particular community.

The implications of this crabbed language are clear: governments should plan and control investment and production, fix prices and wages, see to it that communities maintain a satisfactory level of consumption and even supervise their use of leisure

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The author of this article, President of the Williamson Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, was an advisor to the employer delegation from the U.S. to the International Labour Organization from 1949 to 1952. He served as U.S. employer delegate to the ILO Conferences of 1954 and 1955. In June 1954 he was elected an employer member of the ILO governing body for a three-year term.—THE EDITORS

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time. The obvious pattern for this "action against unemployment" was the Soviet Utopia.

In 1952 the Conference adopted a proposed international law providing for "maternity protection." There were already pretty comprehensive provisions along this line in an earlier "Social Security" convention which would overburden the most prosperous national economy. But this did not satisfy the social planners. The separate maternity convention proposed that an employed woman be allowed at least twelve weeks off to have her baby, if necessary with free medical care and hospitalization. During this period the government would pay her, in cash, an amount equal to two-thirds of her pay. Her employer could not discharge her while on maternity leave, and after her return to work he must pay her in full for time off to nurse the baby.

Motherhood de Luxe

Accompanying this convention is a Recommendation which goes much further. Here is what the Socialists think government really ought to do for pregnant women:

> Wherever practicable the medical benefits should comprise general practitioner and specialist out-patient and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions; maintenance in hospitals or other medical institutions; pharmaceutical, dental or other medical or surgical supplies; and the care furnished under appropriate medical supervision by members of such other profession as may at any time be legally recognized as competent to furnish services associated with maternity care.

The Recommendation, moreover, proposes what might prove to be a unique system of job-security. Except for serious fault on her part, or the expiration of her contract or shutting down of the enterprise, no employer could discharge an employed woman from the date when she is certified as pregnant until one month after the end of her maternity leave. Since the Recommendation proposes 14 weeks leave on full pay, to be extended "if it seems necessary," this should mean that for almost a year maternity would protect the most inefficient woman worker from the wrath of an exasperated employer (at least in a free country).

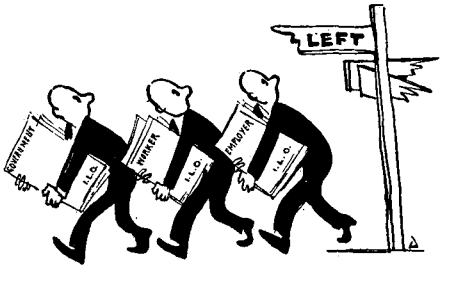
I sat in on the deliberations of the Committee on Maternity Protection; and the discussions were rewarding. I came away feeling that I had had an enlightening glimpse into the Socialist Utopia.

Blueprint for Utopia

In that wonderful era, it appears, all women are expected to be gainfully employed outside their homes. How small children beyond the nursing age are to be cared for remains a bit hazy, but the function of childbearing will be financed by governments. Nursing babies will be brought by their mothers to their places of employment and cared for in government-run nurseries, where their mothers will, at intervals, feed them on company time. No distinction will be made between legitimacy and illegitmacy; government will provide for all. The obligations of fatherhood will be reduced to the mere function of paternity.

If the provisions of the Maternity Convention are added to the multitudinous benefits proposed in the Social Security Convention, a picture emerges of a world in which the functions of the family have been almost entirely taken over by the state. All the responsibilities now considered obligations of the head of the family are to be assumed by the state; all contingencies against which fathers have always been expected to provide, the state will provide against. In short the child, from the day when he starts life in a government or industrial nursery, will apparently, in the Socialist Utopia which the ILO planners are trying to put over, be a ward of the state.

A measure apparently designed to implement this conception was approved in the 1955 Conference and carried forward for final discussion in that of 1956. It is a proposed recommendation entitled "Vocational Training in Agriculture," and it provides a pattern for government takeover of vocational training of all young people on the farms in what the ILO calls a "systematic and coordinated program."



Government is to "organize a placement of trainees on selected agricultural units," "elaborate progressively in consultation with representative organizations as to various matters dealing with the education of young farmers," subsidize educational facilities, "insure that vocational training programs are coordinated with other activities related to agriculture" and also that "Curricula in primary schools . . . take account of the needs of rural areas and environment of rural children," and in general supplant the parents in all matters relating to the education of farmers' children.

Why this proposal for government regimentation of the rural population? Are the ILO Socialists concerned to stamp out, in countries not yet visited by the blessings of collectivization, the strong individualism which has made it impossible for Communist governments to subjugate the peasantry without ruthless terror?

I don't pretend to know the answer.

The Communist Invasion

For some years the free employers in the ILO had been fighting a losing rearguard action against the advance of socialism. Then the Russians came back into the Organization in 1954—carrying the banner of Communism. Until that time we had had to contend only with Poland and Czechoslovakia; but the Soviet invasion was followed by that of other satellites; and the Communist invasion has continued from that time until the present.

The Communist countries now have 32 votes in the ILO, as against four for the United States. When Rumania is admitted, they will have thirty-six. Although there are 71 nations in the ILO, with a theoretical voting strength of 284, the record of actual votes cast at the last Conference shows an average of 170 votes. Of this total it takes only 86 to make a majority. I need hardly emphasize that a solid bloc of 32 out of 86 votes can be extremely effective—so effective, indeed, that there is reason to look for complete

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Communist domination of the ILO—unless Communist employer and labor delegations are declared ineligible.

The free employers in the Organization insist that the so-called "employer" delegations from Communist countries are ineligible, since employer delegations are supposed to represent free associations of free employers. There can be no such employer representation from a Communist country because there the government is the only employer. The representatives of free trade unions likewise object to employee delegations from Communist countries because under Communism the alleged trade unions are notoriously an arm of the state. Thus the Communist governments control all the votes of their delegations, and their "employer" and "labor" representatives are simply government agents in their respective ILO groups.

The $1,750,000 Question

The objections of the free employers and free trade unions against seating these spurious representatives were overruled by a majority of the ILO Conference. Thereupon the ILO, instead of taking definitive action, created a committee to determine the extent to which associations of employers and workers are free from domination by their governments. This body, known as the McNair Committee, on February 22 reported the rather obvious conclusion that in Communist countries there are no employers or employers' associations in the traditional meaning of the term.

What the ILO will do about its committee's report remains to be seen. But one thing is clear: if agents of the World Communist Party, masquerading as free employers and free workers, are to continue to be accredited to the Organization, it will become just another forum for Communist propaganda. In that case, the question arises, Why should the United States continue to participate in the ILO and to pay 25 per cent of the expense of an organization which is being exploited for propaganda purposes by international Communism?

This is the question I placed before the U.S. employers' organizations upon my return from the 1955 Conference. The resolutions cited at the beginning of this article are their answer. The next move is up to the U.S. Congress.

Southern Discomfort

Third-Party Movement Ripe, but Has Little Chance Unless Leaders Change Mood before Convention

SAM M. JONES

The Southern voter who is bitterly opposed to integration, and more than ever a believer in states' rights, is ready for a third party. Unfortunately, from his standpoint, there is no leadership in sight.

In Mississippi, Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan presented a bill of particulars: "No doubt [Eisenhower] broke the promise he made to the South and to conservatives everywhere . . . He is now loosing upon us the very Civil Rights madness from which he so solemnly promised to protect us. . . . The Democratic Party is offering two types of liberal socialist candidates; the practical opportunist type, and the intellectual socialist type. Walter Reuther has more power in the party today than Woodrow Wilson ever had . . ."

But few Southern office-holders in positions of power are ready or willing or able to lead a third-party movement. Former Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who was Strom Thurmond's running-mate eight years ago, no longer holds public office. Thurmond is a candidate for re-election to the Senate from South Carolina but, like Wright, he lacks the equipment to implement a third-party movement.

Most of the Southern governors, the men who really control and operate the state organizations, are unreceptive to the demands of their constituents for political realignment. Many Southern members of Congress, fearing loss of seniority, are unwilling to provide the leadership for a split with the national party organization.

Governor Folsom of Alabama will play no decisive role in choosing the Democratic Presidential nominee. Senator Sparkman is expected to control the delegation and will of course have a preference—at least on the first ballot—for his former running-mate, Adlai Stevenson. There may be scattered support for Lyndon Johnson, Stuart Symington, James Eastland and Frank Lausche (with the possibility of one delegate favoring Kefauver). But nothing indicates the likelihood of a bolt, no matter who is nominated. State Representative Charles McKay, author of Alabama's "nullification bill," is the Governor's leading rival in the race for national committeeman. A victory for McKay would diminish Folsom's national importance but would not alter his control of the state machinery. While Folsom is reported to favor Harriman, it is improbable that he would balk at anyone selected.

Governor J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, who is expected to control his state's uninstructed delegation to the National Convention, is expected to find the Democratic nominee acceptable whether Mississippi does or not.

Governor-Elect Earl K. Long of Louisiana, who takes over from the pro-Eisenhower incumbent, Robert Kennon, on May 15, is favorable to Stevenson; but he is uncommitted and is also expected to go along with the Convention's choice.

Thus the governors, backbone of the political organization in three of the states with the greatest segregation problem, are unlikely to be participants or even leaders in a third-party movement—unless the Democratic Convention does something far more drastic in the way of a Fair-Deal platform or a civil-rights candidate than anybody anticipates.

Conceivably, grass-roots sentiment—and it is very strong—could force a change of mood among party leaders before the Convention. A very bitter fight in the Convention itself might have the same result. But these are only remote possibilities.

If Stevenson washes out before the Convention, the "pros" may look kindly on "Stu" Symington. They like him for what he isn't—controversial. His chairmanship of the Senate Committee investigating air strength is expected to provide the needed national build-up. And for the most part the Southern rank and file would probably go along with a new Missouri Compromise.

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Letter from London

Germany Revisited

F. A. VOIGT

Mr. Voigt concedes that the new Germany is materialistic. But, he thinks, it is hence unlikely to march again into fanaticism

That the German Federal Republic is "materialistic" has become a matter of common observation. I have just visited Germany for the fourth time since the war and have found "materialism" gross and abundant. I have found British and American colleagues, who are in no way inclined to be pharisaical, very emphatic on the subject—and many Germans more so. (Some Germans who fled from the German "People's Democracy" have even gone back, because they have been repelled by the "materialism" which, so they say, has no counterpart on the far side of the Iron Curtain.)

But however much we may condemn this materialism, we may as well try to explain it.

The Federal Republic is bursting with vitality. It is rather proudly conscious of having overcome prodigious difficulties through hard work, energy, enterprise, and a sound economic policy (though not without substantial help from the U.S. and Britain during the critical years).

One development, in particular, completely refutes a prognostication I made when I visited Germany in 1949. The Republic had received more than ten million destitute refugees, thereby increasing its own impoverished population by more than one-fifth. These refugees were homesick and full of bitterness. They were, to a large extent, regarded as intruders and were often thoroughly unpopular, especially in some regions where they threatened to outnumber the original inhabitants. I was, in 1949, convinced of three things: that the Republic was faced with a problem that would be insoluble for many years to come; that it would be compelled to develop an emigration policy which would settle many of these refugees in other countries (Brazil for example); and that political radicalism would spread among the vast multitude which would have to remain.

It has not been so. These millions have been assimilated. Beyond this, the Republic has little difficulty in finding employment for the fugitives that arrive—and will, no doubt, continue to arrive—from the "People's Democracy" (the present rate of arrival is between ten and twelve thousand a month). And, beyond even this, the Republic is importing Italian labor. This strikes me as one of the most astonishing facts about one of the most astonishing of countries.

A Passion for Work

Like Great Britain, the Republic upholds the principle of "full employment," but is not so dogmatic about it. By "full employment" the Germans mean, say, half a million unemployed (perhaps more, certainly not less); for "full employment" cannot, as the Germans see it, be allowed to impair the fluidity of labor which a sound economy demands. (At present, there are more than a million unemployed in Germany; but this is not considered excessive, for little, if any, of this unemployment is permanent.)

There is still much poverty in the Republic, especially among the professional classes, schoolteachers and students. (The poverty of German students has no parallel in Great Britain and the U.S.) The real wages of German industrial workers are considerably below the British level, but they are catching up.

The spectacle of resurgence, of ruins and rubble swiftly converted, of miseries receding into the past—that contrast between yesterday and today is so great that there is a kind of explosive exuberance here which expresses itself in an unflagging passion for work. It is reinforced by the passion for money and more money, for food and drink, for luxury and for extravagance. The enterprising are hungry for more enterprise—overseas, in Egypt, the Middle East, India, anywhere. But delectable as wealth may be, its pursuit is more delectable still. *Gemutlichkeit* and much refinement and urbanity have gone out of German life. There is far less interest in art and letters and music than there is in England, and little patronage of the arts (although the means for patronage are growing plentiful).

The Germans are (not perhaps urbanely, but genuinely and often genially) hospitable to visitors from abroad. They no longer hate. There is no nationalist xenophobia. They do not hate one another as they did between the wars, and as the French do today. Membership of one political party no longer implies personal enmity against members of another (as it used to do). There is, however, one exception: The Germans hate and fear the Russians; and for reasons so natural that any nation, situated as the Germans are, would hate them just as much, if not more.

There is one impression, and a strong one, I had of Germany in 1949 (my first visit after the war) which I find fully confirmed today.

The Battle of Ideals

Germany, between the wars, was the battlefield of militant ideals—of "ideologies." We, in the liberal West, tend to assume that idealism, no matter what the content of the ideal, is commendable if sincerely held. But experience during the last few decades ought to have shown that political idealism (and perhaps all idealism) is latently despotic; that the more sincerely an ideal is held, the more despotic it tends to be; and that when sincerity becomes zealotry, the idealist is a potential tyrant.

The battle of ideals in Germany was a battle among would-be tyrants, each of whom aspired to erect his particular utopia—some by reform or gradual change, others by armed force, but all with one end in view: the subjugation of the human personality to the ideal, the "ideology," the idol.

Each of these ideals had some in-

(*Continued on p. 17*)

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Freedom from Fluoridation

Mass fluoridation of water supplies is not a plot of Big Business or a Communist conspiracy to ruin American health; but there is a case against it

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

Some people oppose mass fluoridation of our water supply systems because the whole thing is a Communist plot to "debilitate the American people," to perform a "chemical lobotomy" upon the body politic. Some oppose fluoridation as causing any, many, or all of the following: heart disease, kidney disorders, arthritis, bone malformations, high blood pressure, thyroid disturbances, acne, eczema, vertigo, numbness and hemophilia. Some oppose it as a conspiracy of Big Business (Sugar and Aluminum) and Big Government (U.S. Public Health Service) to lead us to destruction. Those who feel strongly on the subject label fluoridation a "murder plot." Others speak less vehemently of it as "rape by public water works."

Yet when all is said and done, there *is* a case against fluoridation, and it is a very persuasive case, and it involves more, even, than good teeth.

Proponents of mass fluoridation — who tend to speak with Jovian certitude on the matter — like to dismiss all criticism as crackpottery. There is, they announce airily, *No* argument against fluoridation. They assume a lofty detachment. Yet in pursuit of their goals, they sometimes use techniques which damage their posture of moral and democratic rectitude. Dr. Francis Bull, of Madison, Wisconsin, is one of the leading agitators in the field. A dentist by profession, but a public relations man at heart, Dr. Bull set out with the fervor of a football coach to teach his fellow dentists to sell fluoridation to the public at the Fourth Annual Conference of State Dental Directors in Washington in June 1951. Transcripts of that meeting are almost impossible to get today, but dog-eared copies still make the rounds, furtively, after the fashion of revolutionary pamphlets.

(Some examples of Dr. Bull's sales technique: "Now you tell them this — that one part per million dental fluorosis brings about the most beautiful looking ['pearly' and 'eggshell' white] teeth that any one ever had." Or, "Don't call it artificial fluoridation, there is something about that term that means a phony . . . call it 'controlled fluoridation.'" "Don't let the question go to a referendum," Dr. Bull advised [it's none of the people's business]. The press, if properly courted, can be "terrific," and the PTA is a "honey when it comes to fluoridation.")

The Ascertainable Facts

How is the layman to determine whether he approves or opposes fluoridation? What are the ascertainable facts?

The relationship between fluorine in the water and the health of teeth was first discovered in certain Southwestern states where the natural fluorine content of water is relatively high. Dentists still do not know how, or why, the incorporation of fluorides into the tooth structure reacts on tooth decay. But experience has shown that the intake of fluorine, or fluoride, compounds by infants, and by children before their teeth have "erupted" (that is what teeth do) from the gums, increases the resistance of those teeth — both baby and second teeth — to decay (or caries, as it is more precisely referred to). Internal consumption of fluorides has no effect on older persons whose teeth have already erupted.

The discovery of fluorine's effect on tooth decay electrified a profession which had become increasingly alarmed at the growing rate of dental cavities in the nation. And in 1945, the first controlled studies of artificial fluoridation in this country were made simultaneously in Newburgh, New York, and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

For purposes of the experiment, Newburgh was paired with Kingston, New York, a nearby city of the same approximate size and economy, and Grand Rapids was paired with Muskegon, Michigan. Children in all four cities were examined by doctors and dentists prior to the test. By 1950, as the experiment reached its half-way mark, the results were so encouraging that scores, and then hundreds of communities rushed to add fluorine to their water supplies. Muskegon joined the fluoridation stampede in 1951, but Kingston stood fast.

At the end of the ten-year test period, in 1956, a dental check revealed that children in Newburgh and Grand Rapids, the fluoridated cities, had a one-third to two-thirds lower rate of DMF (decayed, missing and filled) teeth than children in Kingston and Muskegon. In Newburgh, the DMF rate was 58 per cent lower in children of the six to ten age group, who had drunk fluoridated water all their lives, and 41 per cent lower among the sixteen-year-olds.

A medical check-up showed little difference in growth, weight, height, blood composition, bone formation, urine, vision, or hearing, between the fluoridated children of Newburgh and Grand Rapids and the non-fluoridated children of Kingston.

By early 1956, 22 million Americans in 1,123 communities were drinking, cooking, washing, and bathing in artificially fluoridated water and another 3.5 million were doing the same in naturally fluoridated areas. Most scientific and civic bodies in the country, including the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, the U.S. Public Health Service, the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce and the National PTA Congress, went on record in favor of fluoridation. Here, they said, is a simple and relatively inexpensive method by which we can cut tooth decay from one-third to two-thirds in a single generation. What possible objection

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can there be to such an eminently effective solution of a harassing problem?

Was it Mrs. Golda Franzen's description of fluoridation (as "rape by public waterworks") that persuaded 27 communities to discontinue fluoridation, or that caused another 231 cities to vote it down? Or Mrs. Franzen's testimony before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce ("I know fluoridation is a Communist scheme — frankly the Master Plan — but I cannot prove it, for those who have informed me cannot testify; they would be liquidated if they did")? Was it the claims of Dr. Charles T. Betts of Toledo (a vote on fluoridation is a vote "to determine if officials can or cannot shoot, electrocute, or still worse POISON the people"), or those of the energetic Colonel Hubert H. Heath ("once the frontal brain is killed either by surgical or chemical lobotomy, the victim loses all powers of initiative and is [sic] a cowlike mentality, incapable of constructive mental work, but eminently fitted for slavery and servile obedience")? How many people believe the Ewing Water Baby theory (Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing pushed fluoridation in order to create a market for one of the waste by-products of the aluminum industry, with which he was affiliated)?

The Real Arguments

None of this foolishness swayed 231 communities against fluoridation. The fluoridation program is vulnerable — on serious grounds.

First, there is the medical question of fluorosis, a disease of the tooth enamel which is the fluoridators' *bête noir*. Even when the fluorine content of the water is kept to the 1 ppm or 1.2 ppm (ppm: parts of fluorine per million parts water), which the U.S. Public Health Service has recommended as perfectly safe, 10 to 15 per cent of the children drinking that water develop mild cases of fluorosis, which is known as "Texas mottling" because of its prevalence in the highly fluoridated areas of the Lone Star State.

This mottling begins with chalky white (fluorine proponents emphasize it is better to call them "eggshell" or "pearly white") flecks on the teeth which turn brown later on. True, the U.S. Public Health Service and the ADA (American Dental Association) claim most of the flecks on the teeth of Newburgh and Grand Rapids children are visible only to the trained eye of a dentist. But only time will tell whether these tiny eggshell flecks will, like their country cousins, darken with age.

Dr. Margaret Cammach Smith and Dr. Howard V. Smith, biochemists at the University of Arizona, are convinced after twenty years of research in that naturally fluoridated region, that fluorized teeth, while stronger than non-fluorized teeth, become more brittle over the years and harder to repair. Their diagnosis is confirmed by one of Britain's leading researchers into the effects of fluorine on the human body, Dr. Charles Dillon. Dr. Dillon maintains fluoridation will postpone, but not conquer, tooth decay.

He has found that the tooth loss in the 31 to 40 age group in naturally fluoridated areas is higher, not lower, than in other regions.

There is, in short, a legitimate reason to doubt the claims that tooth decay will be virtually licked in a generation if we all drink fluoridated water from birth. But this is, possibly, the least impressive of the medical arguments against fluoridation.

Fluorine is a toxic element. It *is* used in the manufacture of rat poison and poison gas. It *can* be as deadly as arsenic. And there is a wide individual range in body *toleration* of fluorides; in some, continued ingestion produces chronic toxicosis.

The Public Health Service considers a proportion of 1 ppm or 1.2 ppm, depending on temperature and climatic conditions, perfectly safe. When the concentration increases to 1.5 ppm, the incidence of fluorosis rises sharply. The 1 ppm to 1.2 ppm ratio is predicated on an average individual water consumption of one quart a day—a dangerously low assumption to make since individual water consumption can vary as much as twenty to one, and water consumption by small children is extremely variable.

Still, most healthy individuals can drink water containing 1.2 ppm of fluorine, or fluoride compounds, without danger. Most of the fluorine is excreted; only minute parts of it are stored in the bone. But what about the individuals with kidney trouble who cannot easily excrete the toxic fluoride compounds? And what about malnourished children whose diet is deficient in calcium, one of the elements generally found in naturally fluoridated water which helps absorb the toxicity of the fluorine? An article in the February 1952 *American Dental Journal* explicitly warns that "the low levels of fluoride ingestion which are generally considered safe for the general population may not be safe for malnourished children and infants." (In chronically undernourished India, many cases of death and bone crippling among young and middle-aged have been attributed to fluorine poisoning.)

What happens after twenty to thirty years of fluoridation? Can the build-up of fluorine in the bone structure lead to bone diseases? The Public Health Service says no, and points to Bartlet, Texas, where the water has a natural fluorine content of 8 ppm: a check on Bartlet indicated that there was no higher incidence of cancer or kidney trouble there than elsewhere in the nation, nor was the fatality rate any greater. Doctors found an increase in bone density in Bartlet, but said there was no evidence of functional impairment. This seemed impressive evidence—until further inquiry revealed that of the 116 citizens checked *only eleven had lived in Bartlet all their lives.*

Then there are the cases of backaches, numbness of fingers, loss of control of hands, loss of memory, mental retardation and hemophilia which doctors in the fluoridated cities have diagnosed as fluorine poisoning. The validity of these diagnoses is disputed in the medical profession.

When all is said and done, it would appear that the burden of the proof lies with the fluoridators. If one out of ten, one out of a hundred, or one out of a million people cannot take fluorine in his drinking water *safely,*

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then surely freedom from fluoridation becomes a right of sorts. If the fluorine crusaders cannot prove, beyond the slightest doubt, that fluorine deposited in our bodies day after day will have no ill effects twenty years hence—then fluoridation should not be forced on anyone.

After all, no one ever caught tooth decay from anyone else. The parallel (being urged by the fluoridators) between fluoridation and chlorination becomes untenable when we realize that in the case of chlorination—and mass vaccination—the individual is being protected against disease. Where compulsory fluoridation is involved, the dissenter is coerced merely to help others avoid a non-communicable nuisance.

As mass medication, fluoridation is opposed by the Christian Scientists as an infringement on their religious liberties. Others deem it a violation of the fundamental right of every individual to jurisdiction over his own person.

In the face of these medical and metaphysical objections, why are the fluoridators so determined to force fluorine on the nation *in this particular form*? Why do they dismiss, out of hand, alternative methods designed to allow children whose parents approve the experiment to take in fluorine without victimizing the rest of the population? Why are they against fluoridation via orange juice, milk or soup, salt or sugar? Or the application of fluorine to teeth by dentists, or the fluorine tablet program, which seems the simplest of the lot?

Five hundred Swiss communities have been using fluorine tablets for the last five years without ill effect. (The leading medical associations in Switzerland, Sweden and France, incidentally, have all opposed mass fluoridation of water, on the ground that it is too hazardous). And Newark, New Jersey, has just adopted the tablet plan, at an estimated cost of ten cents per child per year, as an alternative to water fluoridation.

What are the legal problems involved? The suave Dr. Bull who lectures on how to put fluoridation over, intimated that if the principle involved in the fluoridation fight gets established, the horizons are unlimited. "I think you will find fluoridation . . . a good entering wedge for a dental health program . . . But don't tell the people you are just starting up the fluoridation program to promote something else."

Is fluoridation the stuff that legal and political precedents are made of? Dr. Frederick B. Exner of the University of Washington thinks so— "Beyond any reasonable question, the sole purpose in wanting to add fluorine to the water supply, rather than offer it in some saner fashion, is so it can serve as precedent for compulsory medication in non-contagious disease." A dangerous legal precedent has already been set in the decision of Judge Joseph A. Artl in the Common Pleas Court of Cleveland, Oct. 22, 1953: "A person's constitutional right to treat his health as he deems best, and of parents to raise their children as they deem best and to be free from medical experimentation and to exercise freedom of religion, are all *subordinated to the common good*. . . . Children's dental health is *properly a province of community law*." (Italics added.)

The minority report of a special Commission of the Massachusetts House of Representatives sums up the matter unassailably:

> Regarding the acceptance or rejection of a proposed benefit of a medicine to be taken daily for the rest of his life, the individual may, within his rights as we see them, accept the proposed benefits as such for himself, but not for another, except it be his child or ward; or he may reject any proposed additive to his body for this purpose, by invoking the right which we deem to be inalienably his—to confer or to withhold that voluntary consent which has been everywhere regarded as absolutely essential to acts upon or within the human body.

LETTER FROM LONDON

(*Continued from p. 14*)

trinsic merit. Each was supported by men of "sincerity" and devotion. Hitler had a tremendous and single-tracked "sincerity." He was one of the sincerest murderers and liars ever known. So was Himmler.

It is for this reason that I cannot wholly share the repulsion which many of my colleagues feel for the "materialism" that abounds in Germany today. It strikes me as arid and, in the end, wearisome. But I cannot regard it as sinister; and it is certainly not so dangerous, not remotely so, as the idealism that abounded between the wars.

National Socialism has collapsed with the other German ideals. There are Germans who can still be called "Nazis," but they are relics. To the younger generation of Germans, nationalism and socialism, as well as National Socialism are, at most, historical reminiscences. The political and social order of the Federal Republic can be qualified as a democracy in the Western acceptation of that term; but all the propaganda, all the exhortations, and all the pressure of the Western powers have not availed to make democracy an ideal in German eyes.

The Germans no longer live in the past or the future. They live, as no other nation lives, in the present.

It will be said—and has been said often enough—that the Germans have no right to forget their past; that they should be forever mindful of the disasters they brought upon themselves and upon the world. It may well be so, but this matter I must leave to the moralist and to the theologian. (Many a German pastor does remind his flock that there are things which should never be forgotten.) I shall only, in this connection, mention something an old and trusted friend has told me.

He spent three years in a concentration camp. He is deeply aware of the infamies perpetrated by his fellow countrymen and of the great dishonor that has darkened Germany's renown. But when I asked, "What was it really like?," he replied:

"I've forgotten—well, not exactly forgotten, but the Third Reich seems like a dream, a nightmare to me and many others. And, again, to many others it was no unhappy dream—until the crash which was first signalled at Stalingrad. I know we ought never to forget the nightmare. But I can't help it—it seems so unreal that I sometimes ask myself, Did it really happen? I even look at my scars, relics of tortures and floggings, to convince myself that it *did* happen. It seems to have so little relevance to the present. I feel badly about this, sometimes very badly. But I can't help it. It just is so."

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mr. Atkinson Breaks a Record and His Neck

This is the time of the year when Supreme Court decisions come down on us by the yard and, consequently, no secular power can prevent Mr. Brooks Atkinson from delivering his ultimate findings. And the fast Mr. Atkinson, who is the unquestioned czar of the American theater by the sheer force of his witlessness, has this year outrun himself. "The season (1955-56) will go down in the record books," he pronounced from his pulpit in the Sunday *Times* "as by all odds the finest in years—the finest since 1929. . ."

This is what the man said—in irrevocable writing. And I propose to analyze the garish statement, not to prove an absurd exaggeration to be absurd and exaggerated, but to contemplate the prevailing cultural climate. What is it, I wonder, that makes a legally sane critic so breathlessly trill such an obvious untruth?

"By all odds the finest in years—the finest since 1929." This takes in twenty-seven years. Now those twenty-seven years include seasons which, as it happens, have established the American stage and the American drama in their own rights. There may be critics who would deny that America has made, as yet, any valid contribution to the dramatic heritage of the world; but Mr. Atkinson is, and noisily, committed to the assertion that there *is* an American drama, and that it *is* great.

Yet whatever there is of an American drama came to Broadway mostly *after* 1929. This is true even for Eugene O'Neill, whose *Mourning Becomes Electra* was first performed in 1931, *Ah, Wilderness* in 1932, *The Iceman Cometh* in 1939. It is certainly true of Thornton Wilder. (*Our Town* opened in 1938, *The Skin of Our Teeth* in 1942.) It is, of course, true of Robert Sherwood. (*Reunion in Vienna* opened in 1931, *The Petrified Forest* in 1934, *Idiot's Delight* in 1936, *There Shall Be No Night* in 1940.) It is manifestly true of Lillian Hellman, Clifford Odets, Elmer Rice, Maxwell Anderson, Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller—all of them not my idea of great playwrights but assuredly Mr. Atkinson's.

The point is that Mr. Brooks Atkinson has, every year "since 1929," proclaimed the birth of another Shakespeare on Broadway. And, every year, he has shouted his praise with the abandon of a maiden in love, with the graceless immodesty of an inflamed partisan, with the lack of *mésure* that is so fully characteristic of this displaced account executive.

But Mr. Atkinson not only cannot judge—he cannot even remember. He cannot remember, from one season to the next, how he had celebrated, only the preceding year, the final redemption of the drama by one Truman Capote (or an Arthur Miller or a Tennessee Williams or whoever that particular year happened to be New York's current redeemer). He cannot remember his own enthusiasms—for the simple reason, one assumes, that they were all *mala fide*: Mr. Atkinson has never endorsed a play because he loved or even understood it; but only because its author seemed to share Mr. Atkinson's spite against the society for which the *Times* allegedly stands.

Though I, for one, cannot visualize them, there must be people who take Mr. Atkinson for a rational and discerning judge. He, it seems, assumes that, too; and for these people he supplied some evidence in his scandalous piece: what made this season "by all odds the finest since 1929" were four plays—*The Diary of Anne Frank, The Lark, Tiger at the Gates* and *The Chalk Garden.* (By the way, none of these four plays is American.)

As it happens, *The Diary of Anne Frank* is a leftover from last season—but Mr. Atkinson's memory works under special dispensations. Aside from this, it's a decent and humane and even moving document (just as the artless German original) but most certainly neither a good play nor a memorable one.

The Lark (a mediocre opus of the French playwright, Jean Anouilh) was something of a flop in Paris, and a pleasant evening here only because of the exuberant Miss Julie Harris.

Tiger at the Gates (an eighteen-year-old second-rate opus of the first-rate French playwright, Giraudoux) was enchantingly translated by Christopher Fry; but it's an unmitigated delight only for those who are ready suckers for literate neutralism.

The Chalk Garden, a civilized dramatic essay of the English author, Enid Bagnold, was probably the best of the four plays—but, beyond a doubt, considerably less talented than, say *The Glass Menagerie* by Tennessee Williams (1944), *Our Town* by Thornton Wilder (1938), *You Can't Take it With You* by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart (1936), and even *Death of A Salesman* by Arthur Miller (1949).

Mr. Atkinson, in short, is all wet. What's worse, he knows it. Thus, he draws a second line of defense—and that's where he really bruises himself. Sensing that his four entries for the all-time championship ("since 1929") are losers, he nominates another three to make up in quantity where he sins in quality—*No Time for Sergeants, The Matchmaker* and *Janus.*

At *No Time for Sergeants* you may roll in the aisle (if you like the broad kind of humor) but everybody who's seen the concoction agrees that it's theater only in the sense in which *Up in Mabel's Room* is.

The Matchmaker, a pleasant finger exercise of Thornton Wilder's, was considerably better when it still went under the name *Einen Jux Will Er Sich Machen,* by Johann Nestroy (which hundred-year-old farce Mr. Wilder has sheepishly borrowed).

And *Janus*—well, I shall not repeat what I had to say about this cold piece of witless artificiality in NATIONAL REVIEW of December 14, 1955. I was afraid it would be a hit. But even I didn't know that Mr. Atkinson was going to name it as one of an immortal season's immortal plays.

Why, one asks in bewilderment, why does Mr. Atkinson make such an ass of himself? He could have been mendaciously "positive" about the passing season *without* the outlandish absurdity which (I promise him) will be longer remembered than the dreary plays of 1955-56. Why does he not only stick out his neck for an undistinguished season, but break it? I don't know. I only know that Mr. Atkinson will go down in the record books as by all odds the funniest critic in years—the funniest since 1929.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Letter to Ben Franklin

from ROBERT PHELPS

DEAR BEN:

Though your name is as familiar to my reflexes as Adam-and-Eve, I have never, oddly enough, made myself really conscious of you. My calendar notes your birthday. My almanac reprints your homilies. One of the pencils here on my desk is even inscribed with your reminder that "time is money." But until now, I have never asked myself just who you are, what you stand for, and how useful your example may be—for myself, my wife, my seven-year-old son; for the electronics engineer who is my nearest neighbor; the political science professor who is my liveliest correspondent; the trucking contractor who is my best friend.

Let me begin by acknowledging the obvious: 250 years after your birth, you are still very much with us. In our National Pantheon, your bust is still the least besmirched on view. You are still the schoolboy's safest bargain in heroes, and the orator's surest quote in Bartlett's. Anyone can tell anyone else how remarkable you were, and though you yourself once compared your political writings to the parings of your nails, they are now being reverently gathered, along with everything else you wrote, into twenty-five volumes. If you were alive, I'm sure your shiny coat would turn up in the newsreels as often as Sir Winston's black cigar.

Now this quality of fame is rare, and frankly it seems to me to be the most interesting thing about you. And I find a clue to its secret in a new biography by Nelson Beecher Keyes (*Ben Franklin,* Hanover House, $2.95). Listen to this:

> So considerable was his renown that the French people willingly began to build a Franklin legend, and the wily old man, knowing a good thing when he saw it, gladly played along with them. Two symbols in particular that represented America were, first, the Noble Savage, signified by the fur hat, and the Good Quaker, typified by plain dress and manners. The obliging Franklin donned both. . . .

Wasn't your canniest genius that for self-mythologizing? I don't mean that you were conceited. You simply had a flair for using your own identity (or variants on it) as your medium of expression. You were a sort of poet; but in addition to words, you used your own person, stylizing it into an image which was at once bigger, simpler, and more memorable than anything in real life. Your masterpiece was Poor Richard, whose character is as perennial as Falstaff's, and whose face, your own, is no less familiar today than it was in 1779 when you wrote your sister that it was "almost as well known as that of the Moon."

From Mr. Keyes' genial, unpretentious story of your whole career, as well as a more scholarly study of one of your sideline facets (*Ben Franklin's Privateers,* by W. B. Clark, Louisiana State University Press, $3.75) and a tasteful reprint of twenty-seven of your most personable letters (*Mr. Franklin,* Yale University Press, $3.75), I get the same picture:

You were the perfect Colonial American. Your vision of human life was firmly terrestial. Around you were savage Indians, disorderly forests, isolated houses, the elements, the British. The big struggle was a material one: to clear land, build fences, exchange messages; to secure, tidy, regulate; to establish a community in which each citizen could make himself as "healthy, wealthy and wise" as he was able.

Everything you did was a means to this end. Your enormous range of activity was never disinterested. Whether you urged a public library, spelling reform, cultivation of silk worms, or commissioned privateers, you were always concerned to make life in the thirteen colonies safer, easier, more efficient, orderly, united. If you experimented with electricity, it was to safeguard colonial homes against lightning. If you developed the Franklin stove, it was to keep colonial houses warmer with less fuel. If you wrote anti-British pamphlets, it was to defend colonial economy against taxation.

Admirable; perhaps even adequate, in 1756. And if I were emigrating to Mars this year, and expected to spend the rest of my life in an un-bureaucratic wilderness, I might take your autobiography along, and train up a part of myself on the tidy trellis you recommend. But, dear Ben, I am living in an America where your wildest dreams of a safe, well-regulated world have come true; and too true to be good.

"We live," you once wrote, "in a century too little advanced and too near the infancy of science." Well, *I* live in a century too overweeningly progressive and too near the menopause of science; moreover, an autocratic, monstrously self-assured science that has applied itself not only to mechanics and physics, but to society, the mind, the unconscious, the government; everything.

You were surrounded by too much chaos, but I am surrounded by too much regulation. If you feared Indians, I fear Experts. If you struggled to bring men together, I am smothering from "group orientation." And you should see what has become of the roughly individual colonists to whom you recommended prudence, moderation, and temperance; they are bland, neuter, docile, perhaps a little pale from TV screens, but well-fed, well-

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medicated, well-fenced-in, and well—well, *common.*

Therefore, dear Ben, in this year when radio, movies, picture magazines, and full-page ads work around the clock to tell us that we are all free, all advanced, all scientific-spirited, all liberal, all *alike*—please forgive me (a miserable crank) if in my private pantheon I respectfully set your bust aside and replace it with one of your contemporaries, a very contrary soul named William Blake.

It was he, and in the same year that you died, who warned us that "Newton's Particles" would yield the Common Man. It was also he who despised prudence and uniformity, and was not afraid to tell us that "the tygers of wrath *are* wiser than the horses of instruction"; and that everything—not just material progress, but "*everything* that lives, is holy."

On Social Science

The Proper Study of Mankind, by Stuart Chase. 327 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $4.00

Stuart Chase wrote this book to say, above all, that where knowledge is available, it is better to attack problems with it than without it. That answers *one* question—about as sane people, everywhere, have always answered it. But the terribly perplexing questions of what kind of knowledge is appropriate to what kind of problem, and how these knowledges can be obtained, he proceeds to treat breezily—by tossing everything into a hopper called "the scientific method."

Many social scientists, as Eliseo Vivas has pointed out, seem to think that they can make theirs an exact science by expressing their thoughts in the form of grating neologisms. Chase does some incidental gibing at scientific terminology, but shows himself a ready customer for such neologisms. He seems unaware, moreover, that a good many of the "discoveries" of social science are things that have been known from hoariest antiquity, the difference being that they are now dressed up in the new jargon and promulgated by somebody holding a position in the educational or governmental bureaucracy.

He tells, for example, about a study of juvenile delinquency: "*in every case* an emotional maladjustment was found." I should think this would have been the primary datum rather than the conclusion. Saying that boys are bad because of an emotional maladjustment is about as helpful as saying that opium produces sleep because of its soporific powers, or that birds fly south in autumn because it is their instinct to do so. Too often the discoveries of "the science of human relations" are but new phrases, murkier than the ones they are intended to supplant.

Chase grows especially eloquent over the contributions of this science to the war effort. During the bombing of "Fortress Europa," he writes, a team of social scientists made a study of the morale of fliers in action. And what these learned investigators came up with is that men fought best when they belonged to a group in which fighting well was the only accepted mode of behavior. I could refer him to a dozen passages in our Civil War literature in which the same thing is said, only with more insight and elegance.

His inability to see where ideas are leading sometimes involves him in contradictions. In an enthusiastic passage on the value of opinion polls, he extols the wisdom of the people. The people, he says, are often ahead of their chosen leaders in sensing reality. And this causes him to endorse the adage, "Never overestimate the people's knowledge or underestimate their intelligence." Well, are the people scientists? How is it possible, on the grounds he has taken, for the people to show intelligence without possessing knowledge? And if the people can and do judge rightly without possessing the knowledge he has declared indispensable, what becomes of his case for social science? Maybe there is room after all for the common sense which he virtually booted out the door on page four.

This is only part of the way in which Chase flubs the question of the relation between a scientific elite and the populace. On p. 41 he says that new knowledge about man has been gained in recent years which can answer some problems of society "better than a convocation of elders." For me this phrase translates "congress" or "senate." Does this mean that he is ready to turn over a substantial part of the work of governing to a soviet of technicians schooled in the methodology he celebrates? His position as a whole is so confused that one cannot be certain what he has in mind. But he is a great popularizer and many readers could draw such an inference. Therein lies the danger of a superficial book like this one.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Kantor Up

Andersonville, by MacKinlay Kantor. 768 pp. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company. $5.00

A Civil War Centennial Book Club is hustling for business these days, and there is probably no publisher in America who is not warming up some entries for the Great Best-Seller Sweepstakes of the 1960s. The tryouts and preliminaries, now on, are being won by MacKinlay Kantor, riding *Andersonville* — an immense but cadaverous steed that from spavined shanks to mangy ears resembles the animal saddled by the Pale Horseman of the Apocalypse, but brings in the money.

And more is certainly coming—a thoroughgoing socio-psychological exhumation of the war, a great stink rather than a grand heroical jubilee, in which the "revisionist" historians are going to tell the American public, in the scatological vocabulary now approved in the best literary circles, what they want it to hear, namely, that the Civil War really was a dull, dirty, unheroical, pointless affair at all times when it was not either heterosexy or homosexy.

This is an apprehension, not a prediction. As to Mr. Kantor's novel, it seems proper to describe it by beginning on page 768, where we learn that Mr. Kantor began his intensive study of Andersonville prison (Confederate) more than twenty-five years ago. The next six pages (moving in reverse) carry an extensive bibliography at the head of which we are assured by the author that "*Andersonville* is a work of fiction, but is presented as accurate history of the Andersonville prison . . ." Next, a map gives further assurance of accuracy. Then the novel: 760 pages of psychological realism, mostly stream-of-consciousness, with a few reverie-

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jaunts to Europe or Yankeedom for relief from staying always inside the mental streams (naturally dull and despairing) of the unfortunate Federal prisoners, of the also unfortunate Commandant Wirz (with his always festering, unhealing wound), or of the rather too pallid and introspective Ira Claffey, who represents Mr. Kantor's idea of a noncombatant Georgia plantation owner—I kept expecting Ira to start quoting T. S. Eliot.

It would be easy to complain against the historical distortion that Mr. Kantor's documentary realism enforces. Reviewers who take the Southern side can retort that the conceded horrors of the Andersonville stockade were due to the Lincoln-Grant-Sherman "total war" policy, under which exchange of prisoners was refused. The blockade cut off medical supplies and added horror. The Confederacy, in 1864-5, would gladly have exchanged its prisoners, whom it could not longer adequately house and ration, but all pleas for such a cartel were denied. Meanwhile the well-provided North took no pains to set the South a good example. By Secretary Stanton's own 1866 report, the Confederates, who took 50,000 more prisoners than the Federals (holding from first to last 270,000), had 4,000 fewer prison deaths. Confederate tales of prison hardship in the North easily balance the Andersonville horror. Library shelves are full of such tales, on both sides, and oral tradition carries others unrecorded. More irritation arises from the scandalous fact that the vengeful North, in a sort of preview of the Nuremberg trials, tried and hanged Major Henry Wirz as a war criminal—an episode that Mr. Kantor discreetly omits, recording only his arrest.

If Mr. Kantor had claimed only the authority of fiction, his book could stand or fall on its artistic merits. But the authority of fiction is one thing, the authority of history another (as Philip Sidney pointed out four centuries ago). And by claiming the authority of history, he has removed *Andersonville* into the realm of argument as to "facts"—where there is, to be sure, plenty to argue about. What we may next expect, no doubt, is a bellicose reply in quasi-fictional form from various scatological experts on the *Southern* side—of whom, alas, there is a plentiful supply. Meanwhile the art of prose fiction itself degenerates. Documentary realism never succeeds for Civil War fiction and is obviously failing for most other subjects. If Homer had been a documentary realist with the Library of Congress and Schliemann *et al* at his elbow, there would never have been an Iliad or an Odyssey or a Hellenistic tradition at the heart of Western civilization.

DONALD DAVIDSON

No Good Word for Cops

Control Over Illegal Enforcement of The Criminal Law: Role of the Supreme Court, by Albert R. Beisel, Jr. 112 pp. Boston: Boston University Press. $2.75

An arrogant, lawless police would unquestionably be a most fearful evil; on the other hand, a police force hamstrung by red tape would be ineffective to protect society against enemies domestic and foreign. Precisely where to draw the line in police practices will always be a problem, and the line will undoubtedly shift from time to time with the currents of a public opinion swayed on some occasions by horror of crime, on other occasions by sympathy for those prosecuted.

For decades publicity on the subject primarily concerned the invocation of constitutional rights by alleged monopolists, grafters and gangsters. With a few notable exceptions the Liberal community took little interest in the subject. Often, indeed, it seemed to regard the Constitution as a means by which wealth frustrated the just demands of the people. Now that members of the intelligentsia have found the need for the Bill of Rights, there has been a flood of adulatory literature and drama. Professor Beisel's short book, a reprint of a series of lectures at Boston University, is one such item.

Unfortunately these new friends of the Constitution have little background or perspective. It is quite true that law enforcement work does not attract the sensitive and refined. It is impossible to imagine Mill, Santayana or Holmes making deals with stool pigeons, shadowing thugs, etc. Yet law enforcement officers are not ogres, by and large. The ones I met, during my tenure some thirty years ago as an Assistant District Attorney, were decent fellows.

My experience forces me to believe that it is wrong to regard them, as this book does, as agents of the devil, to be forestalled at every turn. And I think that an analysis founded on that approach leads to unsound conclusions.

It would be unfair to imply that this book is merely an emotional outburst. It analyzes carefully many Supreme Court decisions, and nowhere even mentions congressional investigations. Its bias nevertheless stamps it as a phenomenon of an era, and prevents it from providing substantial help in solving the problems of crime.

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

More on Belloc

The Young Hilaire Belloc, by Marie Belloc Lowndes. 182 pp. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. $3.50

In this posthumous volume, which was completed by her daughter, Belloc's sister has gathered further reminiscences of her talented brother and enlivened them with copious extracts from the letters which he wrote to her and to their mother.

R.P.O.

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To the Editor

The Nixon Article

In "What's Wrong with Nixon?" [April 25] John Chamberlain writes that Whittaker Chambers "swears by Nixon, and thinks he has acted correctly in not associating himself with anti-Communists who are indifferent to accuracy in presenting their testimony."

Who are these inaccurate anti-Communists? Are they to be forever nameless as the mythical "innocent people, smeared by Senator McCarthy"?

Brooklyn, N.Y. MARGARET P. DALY

. . . the role of Vice President has been admirably carried out by Mr. Nixon. But I fail to find . . . any reason other than that he conformed as expected. It is true, the anti-Communist cause would not have been served had he resigned, but it is also true that the Communist cause has not been hurt while he was in office. . . . And, too, Mr. Nixon has—as millions of other Americans—that willingness to compromise where economics are concerned. Isn't that exactly what is wrong with our country today; it is being run by compromisers?

Bronx, N.Y. HELEN F. FOX

I have always believed that there is nothing wrong with Mr. Nixon. After reading John Chamberlain's article . . . I am unable to find anything right with Mr. Nixon. He emerges as a wishy-washy opportunist.

Brooklyn, N.Y. DOROTHY R. HUELS

On Persecution

In Russell Kirk's column "From the Academy" [April 18] appears a quotation from Dr. A. H. Hobbs, who claims that as a critic of modern social science, "You run the risk of certain and severe punishment of violations by yourself and your sons should you deviate. You will have to . . . sacrifice present gain for doubtful future reward." Later in this article, Mr. Kirk states that "Professor Hobbs, though he has suffered for the cause of candor, is not afraid."

Surely, to endure the counter-criticism of Liberals whom they [conservatives] so freely criticize is hardly an occasion for donning the martyr's mantle. Self-pitying sentimentality, a delusion of persecution, characterizes defenders of tradition today as it characterized the thin-blooded Liberals during . . . Senator McCarthy's heyday.

Erlton, N.J. C. W. GRIFFIN

Mr. Meyer's Target

Nestled in the rubbish of Mr. Meyer's "Principles and Heresies" [April 4] I found to my astonishment a few jewels. I think Mr. Meyer has backed into a profound insight . . .: Lucian mythology is apparently doing its darndest to sap all of the meat out of life and substitute a glossy self-satisfaction.

. . . but Mr. Meyer slips very badly when he tries to lay all of the blame on pragmatism. Pragmatism is not really a philosophy at all but a method concerned with values only in its application. . . . I think Mr. Meyer's real target is the tendency of modern philosophy to posit probable rather than absolute values.

Now this is undoubtedly quite unsettling to some people; it might even serve as an excuse for spinelessness . . . but this is not the fault of the philosophy but of the people who are affected. . . . The contribution of this concept lies in the fact that there are degrees of probability but not of certainty. Probability, therefore, better accounts for moral principles to which we adhere but must occasionally break (*i.e.*, murder). It makes us less hypocritical and . . . less gullible.

Lake Forest, Ill. LEN BREWSTER

Mr. Meyer Replies

I am sorry for the "rubbish," if only because it apparently so affected the precision of Mr. Brewster's reading that he substituted "pragmatism" for my actual indictment: "a successively more radical devaluation of values, culminating in a positivism, a pragmatism, an instrumentalism. . ." Mr. Brewster is right that my "real target" is the relativism common to this whole trend, not pragmatism alone; but I am afraid that the "slip" was not in my writing but in his reading.

As for the substantive issue. My objection to relativist value theory, whether it is grounded in James' radical empiricism or Dewey's instrumentalism or one or another of the varieties of probability theory, is simply that its proponents, by rejecting the existence of values independent of that which is to be valued, end by reducing the moral order to taste or interest or will, or to the tribal customs of the culture.

Undoubtedly, in the application of moral principles to concrete situations, judgment—prudence—is necessary; more than one principle frequently applies at the same time to the same problem. It is not, as I understand Mr. Brewster to say, that murder is sometimes permissible; murder is always wrong; but where other principles come to bear together with the Commandment (in war or in self-defense), killing is not always murder.

Woodstock, N.Y. FRANK S. MEYER

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p.* 10)

agreement, but I would say: as the courts have gone and are tending, probably Yes.

I think that Mr. Bozell may be right, from a formal standpoint, in most of his analysis of the inadequacy of the Dirksen form of the Bricker Amendment. But I repeat: "Adoption of the amendment will not of itself solve all of the constitutional problems which have prompted its proposal," and I add that this is the case no matter how the amendment is worded.

The dispute over the Bricker Amendment is part of a much wider constitutional conflict which is in turn related to a power struggle within our society. These will not be settled by details of the wording of an amendment on treaty limitation. My contention was only that adoption of even the short and inadequate present form (if that is the best that can be done at the moment) would be a net victory for the side on which I stand.

JAMES BURNHAM

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